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The strongest proof that Russia's national policy does not create harmonious and fraternal relations between the different peoples is the dissolution of a number of national republics. A year before the war, when there was tension between Russia and Japan on the Manchurian border, the *entire* Korean population on the Russian side of the border was transferred to Kazakstan and Uzbekistan.

On 28th August, 1941, the entire population of the Volga German Republic was transferred East of the Urals. The German Republic was one of the oldest national republics of Russia. As early as 19th October, 1918, the Workers' Commune of Volga Germans was constituted, and on 19th December, 1923, it was reconstituted as the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Volga Germans. It was one of the first republics to achieve almost complete collectivisation. *International Press Correspondence* of 18th April, 1936, said: 'The German Soviet Republic on the Volga is a living proof of the cultural and national progress which follows on the victory of socialism and a living disproof of the lies and slanders spread by the fascist enemies of the proletariat'. Just two years before their expulsion, an article appeared in *Moscow News* called: 'Volga German Republic, a Vivid Illustration of Soviet National Policy in Practice'. Then, after the Volga Germans had for so many years been commended for the unanimous support of the regime, came the decree of the dissolution of their republic, with the following explanation: 'According to reliable information received by military authorities, there are thousands and tens of thousands of diversionists and spies among the German population of the Volga region who are prepared to cause explosions in these regions at a signal from Germany. No Germans (living in the Volga districts—Y.G.) ever reported to Soviet authorities the presence of such great numbers of diversionists and spies. Therefore, the German population of the Volga regions are covering up enemies of the Soviet people and the Soviet power.'

In the areas of the U.S.S.R. formerly occupied by the Germans a number of republics were dissolved. These dissolutions were not even mentioned in the press, and it was only when *Pravda* on 17th October, 1945, gave a list of the constituencies for the coming general elections, that it was

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discovered that a number of republics had disappeared, since when one cannot know: the autonomous Crimean Tartar, Kalmyk and Checheno-Ingush Soviet Republics and the autonomous Karachev region were abolished and the non-Russian populations deported.

In Ukraine, Khrushchev, head of the government, declared in August, 1946, that half the leading personalities of the Ukrainian Party had been expelled in the previous eighteen months. It would be too much even for the Great Russian bureaucracy to expel 30 million Ukrainians and dissolve their 'republic'.

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with the Soviet master plans. The captive nations were allowed to preserve the external attributes of sovereignty and their governments were granted an advisory voice in the preparation of these national plans. But the supreme control of the plans remained in the hands of Moscow, and their primary goal was, and is, rapid industrialization.

II

The possibilities of industrialization in Eastern Europe are considerable, but obviously not unlimited. They depend on the availability of manpower and its technical know-how, on industrial raw materials and machinery, on capital needed for investments, and on markets capable of absorbing the products of the new industries.

Before the last war, five million persons were employed in the mining and in the medium and large manufacturing industries of the six major countries of the area. Today this number exceeds nine million. There is a shortage of labor, both skilled and unskilled, in Eastern Germany and in the Czech part of Czechoslovakia. The reserves of manpower—land laborers, dwarf-farm owners, and married women—are limited in Hungary and the Slovak part of Czechoslovakia, large in Poland, and even larger in Rumania and in the three Balkan countries. The areas where labor is short coincide to a large degree with those of low natural increase of population, and vice versa. In the first period of reconstruction after the war, there was in many parts of the area a movement of the population from the villages to the towns in search of urban, not necessarily industrial, employment. For instance, in Poland alone, two and one-half million persons moved into towns during the first seven postwar years. This movement is now over, as well as the postwar enthusiasm for reconstruction, and the governments have to recruit new workers by propaganda and sometimes by half-coercion. Unless

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living conditions improve considerably in the cities, the governments will have difficulty in procuring the hundreds of thousands of new industrial workers they require annually. However, manpower is still one of the principal assets of the captive countries.

The quality of this manpower is, generally speaking, better than is assumed in the West. First, there is a considerable industrial tradition, which goes back to the Middle Ages, in Saxony, Bohemia, and southern Poland. Second, the average intelligence of the people is fairly high; given time and education an average village boy or girl can become a skilled worker and, in many cases, a qualified technician, although of course such students lack the always evident association of American youth with motor vehicles and other machinery.

It might be interesting to quote here a relevant passage from the report of the mission of the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization, which was composed mostly of American experts, after its return from Poland in 1948:

> It is the opinion of the Mission that if the Polish nation had an opportunity to be educated according to the standards of western Europe and to carry out a peaceful economic development, the world would be amazed by the result. Imperfectly developed resources of intelligence constitute the greatest potential wealth of the Polish people. It is a raw material of far greater value than [Polish] coal . . .[1]

Assuming that this is a sound judgment, there is no reason to doubt that it applies also to the other countries of this region.

The number of graduate engineers, chemists, and scientists in Eastern Europe declined greatly during the last war and during the postwar flight to the West, but is now increasing rapidly. The joint know-how of such technicians should not be underestimated, especially when Russian technical experience is added to it. Technical inventions and improve-

[1] *Report of the FAO Mission for Poland* (Washington, 1948), p. 18.